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boys usually became cobblers, tailors, or tanners. In all cases where the sons remained to work in the village, they were expected to turn over to the father a part or all of their earnings. This practice once more emphasized the economic importance of children.

As far as I could discover, none of the villagers resented my questions into their personal affairs. More than once, after the routine interviewing was over, a man unburdened himself of some hurt or grievance that revealed more than any questionnaire could. It was through such outpourings that I realized how land could dominate or warp completely otherwise normal family relationships of father and sons or brother and brother.

Lonely old Bai Dimiter held especial interest for me since his wife had earlier told about incidents in his past which helped me to understand better why he began to drink so much that his girls felt ashamed of being called his daughters; to see how he bore his loss of economic and social position in the village owing to bad business methods coupled with a disabling accident. The key to the whole situation was the fact that his own father had tricked him in his early married days. After the son had paid off a heavy debt owed by his father, the father refused to deed him meadows in return but frankly confessed: "I fooled you in order to get money." To make the deception harder to bear, Dimiter inherited no land from his father, all of it going to another son with whom the father had been on better terms. Naturally, Dimiter had a falling out with his brother, and took the matter to the courts where, after long litigation, he failed to obtain any part of the inheritance.

The books I had read about Bulgaria in the old days pointed out the role the older brother formerly played when the father died. One village home was actually operated on the old principle of subordination of the younger brother to the older. Hristo, the older brother, was smaller than the younger brother, standing huge and stooped in the low-ceilinged room in such a way that the kerosene lamp cast a grotesque, mountainous shadow behind him. I knew, of course, about these men, as I knew about most village men, from the talk of tavern groups and other willing informants. I knew that they were ashamed of their family name which meant "the son of a donkey," and I knew

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that Hristo had served in the first World War and had been taken as a prisoner to France, which gave him a definite claim to distinction in the village. He talked easily and willingly of the war but just as willingly turned to discuss the arrangement whereby his brother and he, with their large families, lived in the same room in comparative harmony. In the first place, Sando, the younger, submitted to Hristo's authority, but Hristo, in turn, did not make or execute any plans without consulting his brother. Hristo had the task of managing the farm and doing the field work, marketing the products, and laying in the meager supplies; Sando worked as a teamster and as a day laborer if necessary to earn extra funds for the common treasury kept by Hristo. Some idea of the trust that the younger brother had in the older came from the knowledge that the wages of each long day's work, the pay for every laborious haul, went to the older brother. He spent it as it was needed together with the profits from the farm; he gave the money to the younger brother for clothing his children, for buying his wife new *tsarvuli* (pigskin sandals); he also took for his own use whatever he deemed necessary, though never abusing his prerogative. This was the only such relationship which I came across, simply because brothers did not live together as much as they used to, even in Dragalevtsy, ordinarily so tenacious of the older forms of life.

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The lot of an unmarried brother in the paternal home managed by an elder brother was likewise one of subordination. I visited one home which bore the unmistakable signs of belonging to a dairyman: milky buckets littered the inside; cows hopelessly switched at flies coming from the ever-present manure piles all over the yard. In the course of the conversation I learned that there was little difficulty between the brothers concerning work: the younger together with the wife of the older got up long before daybreak to milk and prepare the milk for Sofia; later on the older brother got up at the same time as his widowed mother to breakfast and started on his daily trek to Sofia and back. Whenever the younger man had extra money he gave it to the older, with the understanding that he could ask for what he needed. There was one source of trouble in the brotherly relationship arising out of the attempt on the part of the older to dictate whom the younger should marry. The inconsistency in this de-

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The *trudova* system existed in principle until Bulgaria joined the Axis, though, she like all countries defeated in the first World War, passed through a period when compulsory labor was gradually replaced by compulsory military service. After the *coup d'état* of May, 1934, various groups of army officers controlled many of the country's policies; so it was not surprising to learn of the strengthening of the military forces of the nation. One sign of the government's changed policy was the fact that in 1935 not a single young man from Dragalevtsy went as a *trudovak*, but sixteen were called to do military service. Those eligible for service were called before a commission of army officers and examined; the successful ones passed on to receive military training, and the rest were returned home. Those who were rejected lost some standing in the eyes of the villagers, because it was thought that they had inherited some family weakness. The *family* rather than the individual was blamed.

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There was undeniably a great influence exercised upon the village by the practice of taking young men, in their impressionable years, away from the village for an interval of several months. They lived in an army barracks or a *trudovak* camp with other young men from different parts of the country. For a time they ceased doing some things which the village thought essential, and they learned to do other things which older family members would perhaps have frowned upon. They went out from a family system where each member worked more or less as a part of the whole; they returned often very conscious of their own individuality, and had to pass through a process of reconditioning before the early customs, habits, and patterns of thought once more closed about them. There were some individuals who never again fell completely into line and who turned to Sofia for employment and a more congenial atmosphere.

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Older men who returned to the village as retired noncommissioned officers enjoyed a certain prestige that lingered after brass buttons and clumping boots had been exchanged for the conventional village attire. On the wall of the office of the Village Clerk, the names of all local officials and public employees were posted. There was considerable information regarding each man, but the concluding and perhaps most important item was the statement of the person's service

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Flower bazaar and tavern: It is around the fourth destination on Fridays that fondest memories cling, because this is the spot near the Sofia flower bazaar where young people from surrounding villages go upon completing their morning duties in town. It is here that romance blossoms and young men from one village are introduced to girls from another. While the younger people are amusing themselves here the older people, especially the men, gather at the tavern called *Dulgata Mehana*, the particular establishment to which Dragalevtsy peasants are loyal.[1] They lunch and drink here, they rest here, and here they swap their stories. Nor is it without pride that they tell how Fiodor Chaliapin, the celebrated opera singer, in 1934 spent a very merry evening in this *Dulgata Mehana*, enjoying its drink and atmosphere. Seldom, however, does the peasant get to converse with the Sofia citizenry in this tavern. Here again he is in a peasant world; if he were not, he would feel decidedly uncomfortable. Should he decide to see a movie, in the afternoon he would go to a cheap theater on a side street and guffaw with his fellow peasants.[2]

2. To Serve His Country. The *trudova* system, or that of compulsory labor for the young men of Bulgaria, has received much attention in the West. It served a magnificent purpose, taking as it did young men from villages throughout the land, mixing them up in labor camps, and providing them with picks and shovels for the construction of highways, bridges, and other public works. But now the young Bulgarian citizen is given military training instead. This is not in keeping with the Treaty of Neuilly, which limited Bulgaria's armed forces to 33,000, but what nation in Europe, the Bulgarians ask, has been abiding by the treaties? The trend from *trudova* to military service is shown by the fact that in 1935 not a single youth was called from Dragalevtsy to do *trudova* service, but sixteen went to be trained as soldiers.

The effect of life in a labor camp or a military barracks upon the young men is apparent upon their return to the village. They have gone out from a family system where each member works unquestioningly as a part of the whole; they return, in spite of military discipline, often very conscious of their own individuality, and have to pass through a process of reconditioning before the early customs, habits, and patterns of thought again close in about them. However, before the returning young men are reabsorbed by the community, reverberations of struggle are felt throughout parts of the social structure. There are some who never again fall completely into line and who naturally

[1] Every village over a period of years has tended to select one tavern where peasants from that village spend their leisure time while in Sofia.

[2] Fifty-five per cent of the villagers (babies, children, and adults) have never seen a cinema. Out of 265 families reporting, *all* members of 73 families had seen a cinema; *no* members of 78 families had done so.

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156 702 turn to Sofia for employment and sympathy. But the significant fact is that most young people do submit to the process of resocialization and as they grow older adopt the conservatism of their elders. In other words, no attempt is made in the army experience to teach them new farming methods, bee-keeping, animal breeding, or anything else which they might apply in a useful way upon their return to the village.

554 789 484 3. For the Good of His Soul. When asked "Why do you go on pilgrimages to various Bulgarian monasteries?" the peasants often answer: "We go for the good of our souls." No mention is made of the enhanced social status that is theirs as a result of such a trip or the excitement of being sped on their way at the edge of the village by the priest and a flock of relatives or welcomed back far outside the village by the same relatives two or three days later. The most popular place to visit is Rila Monastery, the historic, magnificent establishment in the heart of the Rila Mountains to which thousands come at Easter time. The Dragalevtsy peasants (only thirty-five from the village went in 1934) mix with the assembled multitudes at Rila, attend the services, buy sacred objects, and snatch what sleep they can before starting on the return journey. If they are walking, the pilgrimage requires five or six days; if they go by automobile from Sofia, they spend one day en route each way. In olden days pilgrimages played a great part in creating social contacts between the villages and the outside world. Now we can safely conclude that as other means of making social contact increase, the importance of making pilgrimages decreases.

484 574 4. To Visit Socially. Once a year a Bulgarian village has an "At Home Day." This event always falls on the name day of the saint, angel, or member of the Trinity for whom the local church is named and is commemorated by the preparation of immense quantities of stews for the few hundred guests from outside. Many of these guests are old residents returning with their families for a visit. There is a special service at which bread and boiled corn is blessed, the priest in return receiving a portion of the food. At the meal afterwards, to which all guests are invited, pledges are made for the upkeep of the local church. Many guests would rather go to the homes of friends and relatives than partake of the common meal; this makes more intimate visitation possible. These "At Homes" of neighboring villages are the chief attractions drawing the peasants from Dragalevtsy to other villages. Table 13 on the following page shows us how often Dragalevtsy family heads visit other villages (for the "At Home" as well as other purposes).

484 Combining the data in this table with other information obtained we can make the following conclusions regarding the social visits of Dragalevtsy people to other villages: